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President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. HAMEED (Sri Lanka): I wish to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. You bring to the office a wealth of experience in international affairs, high competence and familiarity with the work and procedures of the United Nations. Your election is also a tribute to the great esteem in which your country, Yugoslavia, is held. Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia have very close relations, both bilaterally and in the non-aligned movement, and we are therefore particularly gratified by your election.

2. May I also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to our outgoing President, Ambassador Amerasinghe. It is with a sense of pride that, as a fellow Sri Lankan, I have heard other speakers here make mention of the acknowledged competence with which he guided the meetings of the previous session of the General Assembly.

3. Our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has been a source of great strength to the United Nations by his contribution in guiding this Organization successfully through difficult times. I should like to express our deep appreciation of the role he has played in enhancing the prestige of the United Nations and in strengthening its effectiveness in the cause of peace and international co-operation.

4. Early this year the death occurred of an eminent jurist and diplomat who served with ability and distinction as President of one of the most historic sessions of the General Assembly—the anniversary session of 1975. I refer to Mr. Edvard Hambro, who served the international community well. I take this opportunity, on behalf of my Government and the Sri Lanka delegation, as well as on my own behalf, to pay a tribute to his memory in recognition of his invaluable services in the sphere of international relations, by which he maintained a proud family tradition.

5. Sri Lanka has great pleasure in welcoming Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as new Members of this

Organization. The admission of those two States is fully in accord with the principle of universality of membership of the United Nations. We are confident that they will play a constructive and valuable role in our common efforts to promote the purposes of the United Nations.

6. It is my privilege to be here as Foreign Minister representing a Government which was elected by a majority unprecedented in the parliamentary history of Sri Lanka and perhaps in any other part of the world. It is the fervent hope of my Prime Minister and the Government to use this mandate as an instrument to establish a *Dharmista Samajaya*—a fair, just and socialist society. I bring the greetings and good wishes of my Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayewardena, for the success of this General Assembly session.

7. Sri Lanka is a democratic society, and the recent general election held there has reaffirmed the commitment of its people to the democratic process. Sri Lanka lays the highest emphasis on individual human freedom and on social justice and equality. These values are a happy amalgam of Sri Lanka's cultural tradition of more than 2,000 years and the liberal humanist tradition of the West. By its faith in these values the Government of Sri Lanka has set itself the task of creating a new society in which the interests of the common man would be paramount.

8. The present Government will follow an independent foreign policy which will be opposed to imperialism and colonialism in all their manifestations and will seek to preserve and protect the sovereignty, integrity and freedom of Sri Lanka. The Government will not permit any interference by foreign countries in internal or external affairs or allow the independence or security of the country to be threatened in any way. The Government is fully committed to the purposes of the United Nations and its agencies. It also has a special commitment to contribute, to the limit of its capacity, to the realization of the new international economic order.

9. Before dealing with some of the major issues under consideration by this Assembly, I should like to make some observations on the seeming inability of the international community to grapple with some of the major problems which have been confronting the world. It suffices in this connexion to mention the question of disarmament, the problems of the Middle East and southern Africa and the continuing economic problems of the third world.

10. The United National Party, which at present constitutes the Government in Sri Lanka, has always had a commitment to the principles of non-alignment, first manifested at an international forum at the African-Asian

Conference, held at Bandung in 1955, at which, in the words used by the Political Declaration adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo in August 1976, "the concept of non-alignment itself was given concrete expression".¹ It is our view that the principles of non-alignment, which are fully consistent with the principles of the United Nations Charter, are necessary for the realization of a satisfactory international economic, social and political order. However, the non-aligned movement could make a worth-while contribution to the evolution of such an international order only so long as it remains true to its own principles. It will therefore be the special endeavour of my Government to ensure that the non-aligned movement is not deflected from its proper path and retains its true character as a decisive force shaping the international order of the future.

11. We place special emphasis on the problems of Africa, as it appears that international rivalry is most intensely focused today on that continent. While southern Africa has long been and remains the area of crisis, turmoil has seized other regions of that continent. This turmoil is not just the outcome of local dissension amongst the countries of Africa, but rather the consequence of interest, if not intervention, on the part of outside Powers.

12. In South Africa, the massacres of last year in Soweto and elsewhere and the harsher repressive measures taken against the black population provided a continuing momentum for opposition to *apartheid*. But that same repression sows the seeds of destruction of the evil and inhuman system. Outside South Africa, the more heartening picture is the changing attitude of some countries, hitherto silent or apologetic, but now more critical of the *apartheid* policies of the South African régime. Nevertheless, the South African régime shows no disposition to dismantle the apparatus of discrimination and repression built into the system of *apartheid*, and doggedly persists in its defiance of the international community.

13. In regard to Namibia, there has been no significant progress towards the granting of independence. Our position is that no solution is acceptable to the international community without the participation of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], which is the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

14. We welcome the recognition of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe by the front-line States and the Organization of African Unity as a notable development towards a solution of the Rhodesian problem. We have to take note also of the active interest of the United States and the United Kingdom in renewing the efforts to bring about a solution of the problem. The latest proposals have yet to gain the acceptance of the nationalist leaders inside Zimbabwe, the front-line States and the Organization of African Unity. We shall continue to watch these developments closely. But may I say that Ian Smith should be left in no doubt that he cannot rely, as he has done during the last 12 years, on the support of outside Powers to sustain his régime and to deny to the black majority their legitimate rights, which form the core of the Anglo-United States proposals.

15. May I now turn to the problem of the Middle East, which is again moving towards a dangerous conflict. We cannot allow this to happen without exposing the world to the risk of a massive conflagration. I urge those at the helm of affairs in Israel to end their recalcitrance and heed the voice of world opinion as manifested in the resolutions and declarations of the United Nations. I also appeal to those countries which have the undoubted capacity to influence Israeli thinking to prevail upon it to honour its obligations under the Charter and join the other nations of the world in the common task of building a peaceful world and a fair and just international order.

16. The international community cannot condone the continued occupation by Israel of the Arab territories which it seized during the June 1967 war. Nor can it tolerate the policy deliberately adopted and vigorously pursued by Israel, ever since the occupation, of altering the political, demographic, cultural and historical character of these territories. The annexationist designs of Israel have become even more blatant in recent weeks by the establishment of more settlements in the West Bank area, which obviously calls for strong and effective measures by the international community, as they constitute a further violation of the Geneva Conventions of 1949. The inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force is an incontestable and well-established principle of international law.

17. An enduring peace in the Middle East will not be achieved without a just and equitable solution of the Palestinian problem. We remain firmly committed to the full restitution of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as set out in the relevant resolutions of the non-aligned countries on the subject, and particularly the resolution adopted at the Conference held in Colombo in August 1976.²

18. Sri Lanka has a special interest in the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, in regard to which there has unfortunately been no worth-while progress since its adoption in 1971 [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. We are all aware that the great Powers have been engaged in negotiations on the Indian Ocean. Certainly Sri Lanka would welcome any understanding on their part to prevent the escalation of rivalries as a preliminary step towards their total elimination, as that would be consistent with the purposes of the Declaration. On the other hand, a delimitation of spheres of influence in the Indian Ocean aimed at achieving a balance between the great Powers, which can only be provisional and precarious, would be contrary to the purposes of the Declaration. At this stage, we appeal to the great Powers and the major maritime users to co-operate with the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, which has as its immediate purpose the convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean.

19. In our view, the concept of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean requires not only the elimination of great Power rivalry in the area, but also an obligation on the part of the regional Powers to observe restraint and act in the interests of peace. It might be useful to emphasize that this conception has been fundamental to Sri Lanka's thinking

¹ See document A/31/197, annex I, para. 16.

² *Ibid.*, annex IV, resolution No. NAC/CONF.5/S/RES.9.

from the very inception of the efforts to take international action towards the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. This was amplified in the memorandum presented by Sri Lanka to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference held in Singapore from 14 to 22 January 1971—where action was initiated preparatory to the introduction of the Declaration at the United Nations—which contained the following statement:

“A parallel corollary of a peace zone is that regional States bordering the Indian Ocean will themselves refrain from action prejudicial to the concept of a peace zone. Their defence requirements therefore would have to be measured against their obligations not to compromise the concept of a peace zone.”

20. On the question of disarmament there has been a mountain of documents which, unfortunately, has not generated any really significant disarmament measures. We realize that our objective of achieving general and complete disarmament cannot be implemented forthwith or in the near future by fiat. But what is disheartening is that the very limited progress made towards disarmament is hardly commensurate with the efforts made so far. On the contrary, in the process our goal of general and complete disarmament has become even more distant as a result of the multiplication of newer and more horrifying weapons. Even while the argument was between the cruise missile and the backfire bomber, the neutron bomb has entered the stage. This last weapon is viewed with special horror as it is aimed at the destruction of human beings while preserving the material edifice of human society. What is of particular concern to countries of the third world such as ours is that current expenditure on armaments is estimated at \$300 billion a year. Only a fraction of that sum could do much to alleviate the problems of poverty, hunger and disease which continue to plague the third world.

21. The Colombo Conference of non-aligned nations last year decided to seek a special session on disarmament and this, approved by the last session of the General Assembly [*resolution 31/189 B*], is scheduled to be held in May and June 1978. The non-aligned nations that have played their part will continue to do so, and it is our hope that the great Powers will extend their co-operation in making the special session a success.

22. Sri Lanka has a democratic system of government and the longest record in Asia for universal franchise, which has been exercised for almost five decades. In accordance with this democratic orientation Sri Lanka is committed to unqualified respect for human rights and it is the constant endeavour of our Government to uphold them. We therefore have a special interest in the gathering momentum for the realization of human rights embodied in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I must, however, stress that without economic rights, human rights have no meaning whatsoever. It is our hope that in the deliberations at this session a constructive approach will be adopted to the advancement of human rights.

23. I now pass to the sphere of international economic relations. If the democratic freedoms which we cherish are to be preserved, it is vital that the anomalies which characterize the differential treatment of developing as

compared to developed countries in current economic theory and practice be eliminated.

24. Let me illustrate the point by referring to a few of the more glaring anomalies. When a rich country falls into balance-of-payments difficulties as a result of a sharp increase in import prices as has happened recently, safety nets of all kinds are designed to cushion it. No similar flexibility exists for developing countries. Another anomaly is that, while developing countries are encouraged in the name of self-help to develop production for export of those non-traditional commodities which are not exposed to volatile export prices, the access of those new exports to markets has a habit of drying up as soon as developing countries acquire a comparative advantage and a degree of competitive efficiency in their products. While we appreciate the difficulties of developed countries and the resulting market disruption and unemployment problems, there is an irrefutable case for a medium-term programme of structural adjustment in the economies of developed countries to accommodate developing-country exports in a phased fashion. Certainly, we in Sri Lanka are aware of the fact that certain countries are actively pursuing such measures and transplanting appropriate industries to developing countries. We welcome this trend.

25. To my mind, there is a case in regard to these issues for a greater effort at leap-frogging over the immediate questions on which the North-South dialogue has so far concentrated with limited success. This should be done without in any way relaxing the pressures for resolving, on terms satisfactory to developing countries, those issues that are currently on the negotiating table, by taking a long hard look at the structural changes required within the world economy in the 1980s and in its “rule book” in the light of recent developments.

26. As my country sees it, it is the economic dimension of non-alignment which must be paramount and which helps to knit together the entire Group of 77 on a wide range of economic issues. In this context, I expect to place before the Assembly certain specific proposals designed to ensure that the export development which I have mentioned and which all developing countries are currently being encouraged to undertake takes place under propitious conditions so far as all parties are concerned.

27. First, there will have to be satisfactory arrangements in regard to primary commodities, to encourage orderly investment. We see the common fund as the key element in the programme of UNCTAD for an integrated approach to the commodity problem,³ which we endorse. While we note that an agreement in principle was reached on the common fund at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, we would also like to make sure that the fund that eventually results is of the kind that will support commodity markets on a broad basis at times of falling prices and, therefore, act as a catalyst in permitting the conclusion on equitable terms of many more commodity agreements than have been concluded in the past.

³ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

28. Secondly, an important element in promoting export development involving foreign investment concerns ways of insuring against non-commercial risks. Proposals for an international investment insurance agency have been discussed for several years in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and the World Bank and more recently in the Development Assistance Committee. The scheme has failed to command agreement for a variety of reasons. On the one hand, host countries have always entertained fears about intervention, through the arbitration of an international body, on matters concerning national sovereignty. On the other hand, some circles fear that the establishment of international investment insurance for non-commercial risks might constitute an encouragement to expropriation. In order to meet these views, many key developed countries, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan and the United Kingdom among others, have developed purely national investment insurance facilities covering the risks of expropriation and so forth. No insurance, of course, is provided in these cases against the commercial risks of investment.

29. These national insurance arrangements are frequently complemented by bilateral agreements with interested host countries defining their mutual legal obligations with provisions for the settlement of investment disputes. However, looked at internationally, this combination of facilities and agreements has certain built-in advantages to investors from the larger countries which have a long tradition of foreign investment and the resources to mount a national operation. On the other hand, the present framework of bilateral arrangements places at a disadvantage those smaller developed countries, in particular, which find it difficult to organize adequate national insurance facilities but whose investments many developing countries will welcome on a commercial basis and which have in addition by and large supported third-world causes in many forums. An international investment insurance arrangement would obviously provide a very attractive source of support to smaller investing countries but it is, as mentioned earlier, open to the objections which have frustrated its acceptance so far.

30. The solution to this dilemma which I should like tentatively to propose to the Assembly runs as follows. Existing national insurance agencies in developed countries could pool their risks through a reinsurance agency that might be set up on a multilateral basis. The savings resulting from the pooling of risks in this manner might encourage those smaller developed countries that have hitherto failed to secure international agreement for a multilateral investment insurance agency to set up their own national insurance facilities on an adequate basis. Developing countries, and of course only those countries that are interested in joining such an arrangement on a voluntary basis, might pick up some part of the reinsurance risk to the extent feasible. At the same time the whole arrangement can be given an "international umbrella" through an enlargement of the guarantee powers of the World Bank Group. In other words, the proposal I am making is an evolutionary one which seeks to build on existing arrangements to meet the legitimate aspirations of the smaller developed countries while at the same time keeping the developing countries' contribution within affordable limits by having recourse to these enlarged guarantee powers.

31. Thirdly, let me now turn to a proposal which covers a substantial area of commercial risks, that of exploration in the field of minerals and energy, where potential private investors are understandably reluctant to assume the very high risks of failure they face without an assurance of a reasonable return on their capital out of the profits that would invariably result to the host country from a successful exploration venture. It has been all too common, in fact, for countries to aggravate this reluctance by unilaterally revising the terms of any exploration agreement to the disadvantage of the investor in the event of a successful "find". This again is an area where progress can be made on a similar evolutionary basis. The World Bank, under the auspices of the Development Assistance Committee, is considering proposals whereby it would lend Governments sums for exploration ventures, whereas at the moment it is limited to financing exploitation alone. With the international community involved in this area, under suitable auspices, this would ensure that the terms applicable to all the parties concerned are reasonable and that the obligations between the government and the enterprise concerned are adhered to, again on reasonable terms. A set of international arrangements that satisfies the mutual interest of all parties concerned would promote investment, which is now lagging in necessary areas.

32. There is, in this context, a particular role for the United Nations Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration to play, a role which involves the relaxation of its current onerous terms and includes also an element of subsidy. It would be necessary for contributions to this Fund, which now stand at \$7 million, to be substantially increased as an arrangement along these lines permits increased use of the funds now available. It would also be necessary to have the work of the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations and of UNCTAD drawn upon so as to ensure adequate codes of conduct for the transfer of technology and for ensuring a reasonable return to the investor on terms that host countries can live with. Once again my delegation will co-operate with others in framing an appropriate draft resolution in the relevant committee.

33. These proposals I have made are of international interest, but I should not disguise the fact that they will help accomplish a transformation of Sri Lanka, while at the same time preserving the best elements of Sri Lanka's traditional commitment to meeting basic human needs and human aspirations, a policy combining rapid growth with social justice. Sri Lanka, as you are aware, has pursued policies which have, over the years, achieved a life expectancy of 68 years, a literacy rate of 81 per cent and an infant mortality rate of 45 per 1,000, rates which compare very favourably with those of many developed countries which have a *per capita* gross national product considerably higher than Sri Lanka. Concealed within these averages, however, is a significant deterioration, particularly since 1973, in these standards, affecting certain populous parts of the country.

34. What Sri Lanka's recent experience outlines is the need to implement the basic human needs strategy which the ILO world employment Conference⁴ endorsed last year

⁴ Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution, Social Progress and the International Division of Labour, held at Geneva from 4 to 17 June 1976.

and which many governments represented here have endorsed in various other forums. As I understand it, this strategy seeks an international commitment to maintaining and establishing certain minimum human needs at a time when countries like Sri Lanka, despite the areas of flexibility recently introduced, are under pressure to abandon these standards. I should emphasize that no one owes a country like Sri Lanka a living. All that we can legitimately expect is an adequate degree of support and a sufficiently long period of time within which to effect the necessary domestic adjustments. All we seek is an adequate volume of essentially bridging support from the outside world and this will involve without doubt a revision of the present rules of the game so as to guarantee the minimum basic needs of the largely unemployed poor living in developing countries. Any programme of adjustment must take into account both the social and economic realities of countries like Sri Lanka without at the same time impairing work incentives during the interim period that must inevitably elapse before the necessary corrective policies can begin to yield tangible results in terms of growth and employment.

35. Finally, in the economic sphere I turn to the question of regional co-operation which can, under suitable conditions, evolve in the direction of an Asian common market. Those of us who come from Asia cannot fail to be struck by the fact that many countries in different regions of the world have found that the way to ensure economic advancement is by the device of regional co-operation. We are pleased that institutional arrangements are already available in the region for such co-operation in certain specific fields. This will of course have to evolve alongside a political willingness to co-operate among the nations concerned.

36. As I have already mentioned, my Prime Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayewardena, has proclaimed building a *Dharmista Samajaya*, which also implies the equalization of opportunities. We see this as meaning a commitment to redistributive social justice and a protection of the basic human needs of the bottom 40 per cent of our society. It also implies a liberal framework of incentives within which the social product can expand rapidly enough to emancipate us from dependence on aid except during a transitional period. And finally it implies a society where both these developments are consistent with an absence of the extremes of inequality and of conspicuous élite consumption. It is only on this basis that a viable social fabric can hold together within a socialist democracy. International politics as symbolized by those who worked out the United Nations framework at Lake Success and on the strengthening of its economic arm at Bretton Woods was not entirely a game of *real-politik*! it was imbued with a spirit of what I can only call practical idealism. Those men who sought to shape a new world in the late 1940s were both eminently of this world and also outside it. What we have to reconstruct today is that combination of the practical and the ideal which is now required to serve the interests of the world community in a totally different situation. We must, in other words, go beyond what the founding fathers of the United Nations system had in mind. The task today is to work towards a world in which idealism, if it does not transcend the requirement of practicability, is not unduly limited by it. We should strive towards the outer edge of

the possible of which reasonable men can be convinced by reasoned argument. To say this alone may seem to be idealistic but unless international thinking flows in these currents our "planet earth" may well run the risk of disappearing into a "black hole" which collapses into itself under the gravity of its own inertia.

37. Mr. WOJTASZEK (Poland) (*interpretation from French*): Permit me, Sir, to congratulate you warmly upon your election to the important post of President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We welcome in you a distinguished diplomat from socialist Yugoslavia, a country to which we are bound by the closest of relations. I am convinced that under your presidency this session of the Assembly will make an important contribution to the process of positive transformations which are at present going on in the world. The Polish delegation will spare no effort to see to it that this session of the General Assembly is constructive and fruitful.

38. We should like to express our gratitude to the President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, for his active participation and his remarkable contribution to the work of the session that has just ended.

39. From this rostrum, we should like once again to welcome warmly as a Member of this Organization the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose heroic people is pursuing a policy of peace, socialism, and friendship among nations. It is with particular satisfaction that we see it taking its rightful place in the United Nations. We wish the Vietnamese people all possible success. We are convinced that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will make an important contribution to the work of the Organization, and thus enrich the activities and progressive movements within the Organization as well as its role in the world arena.

40. We should also like to bid welcome to the Republic of Djibouti. We hope that its efforts are successful, both in its socio-economic development and in its work in the United Nations.

41. The thirty-second session of the General Assembly is taking place at a very complex time in the evolution of the international situation. The struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of the process of détente in the world has entered a particularly important stage, where all Governments share responsibility both for its future orientation and for its results. It seems to us that there exist at present not only the objective conditions but also forms and methods that have proved themselves such as to make of this process a firmly established element in international practice. In spite of difficulties and setbacks, the restructuring of international relations, both political and economic, is continuing to go forward in accordance with the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems and at different levels of socio-economic development. Important bilateral, regional, and even world negotiations are taking place designed to consolidate international security, to put an end to the arms race, to bring about progress in disarmament and to develop co-operation on an equal footing among all countries in every field.

42. The efforts of peace-loving States and numerous social forces have had a favourable impact on the strengthening of détente. At the head of the movement we find the socialist States, which have chosen as the fundamental objective of their foreign policy action to strengthen peace and to reject the use of war and of force as an instrument of policy.

43. The efforts to that end which the Soviet Union, Poland and the other socialist States have ceaselessly made in total conformity with the principles of the Charter do not depend on tactics or political opportunism. They derive from the fundamental axioms of our ideology and political system, the aspirations and needs of our people and of all peoples. Their deep-lying roots are to be found in the objectives proclaimed by the Great Socialist October Revolution. The present session of the General Assembly coincides with the culmination of the celebrations held to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The influence of the October Revolution on the destiny of the world is as vast as it is diverse. In both the theoretical and the practical field, it gave birth to the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems, a principle which experience has shown to be entirely justified and far-sighted, a principle which began the historic transformation of international relations and which continues to exert a powerful influence on the strengthening of the process of détente.

44. The Polish people is firmly convinced that the strengthening of détente and the extension of that process to new areas and new fields of activity have now become an imperative necessity for all States, whatever their political systems, whether they be great or small, developed or developing. Because détente is not just one more option among others; it is the only possible option.

45. That is precisely the guiding principle underlying the foreign policy of Poland. The ties of unbreakable friendship and co-operation in all fields with our socialist allies constitute the foundation upon which rests the realization of the political and economic objectives of Poland. We are constantly strengthening our fraternal links and promoting close co-operation with the Soviet Union. Similarly, we are strengthening our co-operation with Czechoslovakia and with the German Democratic Republic, as well as with all States that make up our socialist community. We are broadening our political dialogue and co-operation, on the basis of mutual advantage, with States having different social and political systems. We are attempting to establish closer links of co-operation with the non-aligned States and with the developing countries.

46. We are pleased to note that during the past year bilateral and multilateral agreements, in particular those among States which took part in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, have been multiplied.

47. The implementation of the principles and provisions laid down in the Final Act of that Conference is a continuing process. These principles and provisions, which find expression in the practical policies of States, have been reflected in a great number of declarations and agreements concluded between Poland and its partners. There have also been a great number of meetings held between Polish leaders and the leaders of European States and of countries

in other continents. The practice of systematic political consultation is a fast growing one. Relations between Poland and France are close and continue to develop fruitfully. Poland has established broad co-operation with the Nordic States, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Italy and Austria. In the spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki and on the basis of the relevant bilateral agreements, we are developing our relations with the United States. The process of the normalization of relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany is progressing, as is co-operation between our two countries.

48. This is an important contribution to the establishment in the world of lasting conditions for peace and détente, without which there can be no solution of regional and world problems.

49. This year is also marked by the Belgrade meeting of the representatives of States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Poland, like its socialist allies and friends, considers that, over all, the provisions of the Final Act have been implemented positively. We consider the Final Act as an integral part of a long-term process. We reaffirm our determination to put into practice all the principles and provisions of that important document. We therefore expect our partners to do likewise.

50. The organs of the United Nations system—such as the Economic Commission for Europe and UNESCO—can and must play an important role in the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act.

51. The United Nations has a leading role to play in the strengthening of the process of détente and international peace and security. The importance of the United Nations is today more than ever directly dependent upon the extent to which our Organization can help to find ways of reaching those objectives and succeeds in transposing positive regional experience to the world level and in creating conditions which will, in accordance with the Charter, make it possible to achieve settlements of conflicts and a relaxation of tension. And that is something which will be even truer in the future. The United Nations can and must, therefore, more than ever constitute “a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of . . . common ends”.

52. Possibilities for strengthening the positive trends in the world do objectively exist. However, this session will live up to the hopes placed in it only if it can contribute to the international efforts at strengthening the process of détente. There can be no doubt that this whole process is particularly influenced by the Soviet-American dialogue, to the pursuit and success of which we attach the greatest importance. The limitation of strategic weapons and the halting of the arms race are of supreme importance. Together with the overwhelming majority of States in the world, we hope for progress in this field, which is of paramount importance.

53. More and more people today are becoming convinced that sources of tension and conflict can and must be eliminated by peaceful means. The United Nations Charter provides a wide range of measures to achieve that end. Their strengthening cannot but be furthered by the

important initiative of the USSR with regard to the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. If such a treaty were to emerge, it would facilitate the solution of situations of conflict, both present and future, in accordance with the United Nations Charter; it would constitute a valuable instrument for modelling international relations on a world-wide scale.

54. In contrast to those positive actions and results, it is with much concern that we detect in the policies of certain States signs pointing in the opposite direction from the trend towards world détente and that we witness attempts at resolving world problems by a stepping up of tension and the recourse to force.

55. The lack of progress towards a solution of the Middle East conflict is a source of deep concern to us. We wish to stress again that the only effective way of solving that problem is to return to the Arab States all territories occupied by Israel since 1967, within the framework of an over-all political settlement that would take into account the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and the creation of an independent State. Such a settlement should also take account of the vital rights and interests with regard to the security of all States and all peoples of the region, including Israel. We shall continue to spare no effort to see to it that our participation in the United Nations Forces in the Middle East serves the attainment of these objectives, in accordance with United Nations resolutions.

56. We declare our support for the prompt resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

57. Polish public opinion has been very much alarmed by the recent illegal decisions of Israel to perpetuate its occupation of Arab territories by the establishment there of Israeli settlements.

58. The past year has seen a great many events that have drawn the attention of the world community to the urgent problems of the African continent, to the national liberation struggle, to the elimination of racism and *apartheid*, and to respect for the right of peoples to choose their own path of development. The international forces of reaction and neo-colonialism have refused to loosen their grip, and are still attempting to oppose the historic process of the liberation of nations from colonial and racist oppression.

59. The just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa enjoys the sympathy and support of the whole of progressive mankind, and thus of the Polish people. We resolutely demand that the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe be allowed, unconditionally and without delay, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

60. We support the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its efforts to achieve the peaceful and democratic reunification of its country and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Korean peninsula.

61. The Polish people continues indignantly to protest against the persistence of mass persecutions and human rights violations in Chile.

62. The implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions would greatly contribute, on the legal and political plane, to a relaxation of tensions in the Cyprus conflict and to ensuring respect for the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

63. Disarmament and a halting of the arms race are of paramount importance if we want to ensure further progress in the policy of détente and to make that process irreversible. The preservation of peace and the dynamics of détente will depend upon the progress actually achieved in that field. In his report on the meeting of the Political Advisory Committee of States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held in Bucharest, Comrade Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party stated:

"In the present phase of the situation in Europe and in the rest of the world, it is imperative to strengthen political détente by military détente, by the halting of the arms race, which is continuing and has even been stepped up recently, and by the creation of new prospects for disarmament."

64. The Polish delegation is convinced that all the questions relating to disarmament on the agenda of the thirty-second session occupy a central position of priority in the work of our Assembly. We agree with the Secretary-General when he states in his report on the work of the Organization that:

"... the United Nations cannot hope to function effectively on the basis of the Charter unless there is major progress in the field of disarmament." [A/32/1, sect. IV.]

If only for these reasons, we wish to reaffirm our support for the Soviet memorandum of 28 September 1976⁵ and to stress the timeliness of that document, which contains a vast programme of measures designed to give further momentum to and inject increased vigour into disarmament negotiations.

65. In the same spirit we subscribe to the proposals presented the day before yesterday by Minister Andrei Gromyko with regard to the deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of a nuclear war [A/32/242].

66. We are firmly convinced that it is the responsibility and duty of every State and every Government to work for disarmament. For this purpose we have available organs which have proved their value, in particular the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. Poland participates actively in the work of that body, as it does in the Vienna discussions on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. Indeed, we consider regional negotiations on disarmament to be an important complement to the talks held at the world level with the universal objective of general disarmament.

67. Of the long list of questions relating to disarmament I should like to stress those which we consider to be the most important and urgent.

⁵ See document A/31/232.

68. It is urgent and necessary to strengthen the régime established by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII)*]. It is indispensable to intensify efforts to make the Treaty universal and to prevail upon all States to act in accordance with its provisions. We expressed this conviction in the Polish-French Declaration published only two weeks ago.⁶

69. We call for the preparation of effective international instruments, of regional or universal scope, which would guarantee that fissile material, installations and nuclear techniques exported for peaceful purposes would not be diverted to the production of nuclear weapons. We condemn the ambitions of South Africa to obtain this type of weapon. We are also opposed to the use of foreign installations and territories for the development and perfecting of armaments.

70. We should like to stress also the need for the urgent continuation of negotiations on a general and complete ban on nuclear weapon tests and the prohibition of the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

71. We sincerely hope that it will soon prove possible to draft an appropriate agreement on the elimination of chemical weapons. Throughout the present session Poland will continue to play an active part in the consideration of this important question.

72. As a member of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament we are trying to ensure that the work of this Committee will be an important stage in the work for disarmament and will at the same time lead to the convening of a world conference on disarmament.

73. It is the historic responsibility and the duty of all Governments and all of us, their representatives at this thirty-second session of the General Assembly, to ensure a better standard of living for the present generation and for generations to come. It is precisely by strengthening international security and consolidating the process of détente that we establish the political foundations for the general progress of all nations and the installation of a new world economic order based on justice.

74. It is above all thanks to progressive socio-political reforms, to the mobilization of domestic resources, to the acceleration of the process of industrialization and the introduction of planned methods of development that we shall succeed in satisfying the needs of man fully and permanently. The dynamic expansion of the forces of production makes external factors increasingly important, particularly the expansion of a mutually advantageous and equitable economic co-operation which would, in particular, give access at one and the same time to outlets, to supply markets and to sources of finance and modern technology.

75. The organs of the United Nations are the only universal institutions within which the international com-

munity can and must find a solution to world problems, the problems which the nations face in their search for more rapid growth and a restructuring of economic relations at regional and world levels. The results of what is known as the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation have shown that these problems cannot be solved within a limited group of States.

76. The principles and the machinery of international economic co-operation which are being developed should take account of the interests of all States as well as the differences deriving from their level of economic development and their socio-political system.

77. In the context of the socio-economic development strategy which it has chosen Poland is participating increasingly in the international division of labour. We take an interest and play an active part in the development of new principles and machinery designed to govern international economic relations. We support all well-founded proposals aimed at putting these relations on firm and long-term foundations and also on principles of the mutual advantage and equality of the partners. The studies of long-term trends and estimates with regard to economic development at world and regional levels recently undertaken on the initiative of Poland can undoubtedly contribute to the performance of this task. Over-all socio-economic estimates of the growth of the world economy up to the year 2000 could be useful for the development of the new international development strategy.

78. In the long-term interest of all States it would be desirable for them to orient their external economic policy in such a way as to ensure the elimination of the remaining obstacles, particularly those which are protectionist and discriminatory in nature. The States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, of which my country is one, are pursuing a policy aimed at strengthening socialist integration in all fields and intensifying co-operation with all other nations. The development of bilateral economic contacts between Poland and countries with different socio-political systems and at different levels of economic growth strengthens this objective trend. Close co-operation, transcending the traditional patterns of trade, link us with many countries in all continents. I am convinced that this type of association which creates new structural ties between the participating States promotes the establishment of a new and more just economic order and lends specific substance to détente.

79. Prompted by this spirit of broad economic co-operation, Poland and the other States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance hold that any restriction on such co-operation is a glaring anachronism in the world today. That is why they have proposed to the States members of the European Economic Community the negotiation of a draft outline agreement based on the most-favoured-nation clause which would constitute the basis for co-operation conceived in the broadest possible terms between the States members of the two economic groupings. We hope that the initiative of the States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance will be welcomed with realism by the members of the European Economic Community and that such an agreement can be concluded.

⁶ Signed in Paris on 14 September 1977.

80. My country attaches great importance to the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The success of the Conference will depend, of course, upon the acceptance of compromise solutions which take due account of the interests of all States and groups of States in such fundamental matters as fishing, the status of the economic zone, the exploitation of the sea-bed, and so on. Recent attempts by certain coastal States to impose solutions to their advantage alone are hardly conducive to success in the work of the Conference and are in fact liable to lead to dangerous tensions which could be the cause of future conflicts.

81. There can be no development or world progress until the most pressing social problems are solved and until conditions exist to permit the peoples of the world effectively to enjoy material goods and the advantages of progress and culture. That is why we give the highest priority in our Organization to the application of the principles laid down in the 1969 Declaration on Social Progress and Development [*resolution 2542 (XXIV)*], and also to action against racism, for the equitable distribution of national income, for the training of skilled personnel with a view to development and for the elimination of discrimination against women.

82. Involved as it is in the struggle for peace and détente, Poland has often stressed from this rostrum the importance of international efforts to educate youth in a spirit of peace and mutual co-operation. This important element in the work of our Organization means without any doubt that we should be paying much more attention to it. Poland for its part would like to encourage all projects undertaken to this end. The many world youth meetings held in Poland, as well as the participation of Polish youth of other international gatherings, are best proof of this. We believe that international co-operation with a view to reviewing, bringing up to date and supplementing school textbooks, should play an important role in educating youth in a spirit of peace.

83. More than 40 States have ratified the International Covenants on Human Rights. These Covenants constitute an important body of principles aimed at guiding States in their observance of human rights. They are a basis for international co-operation in this field. Poland and the other socialist countries are among those which have ratified the Covenants. We consider this fact to be major importance since the very essence of socialism is to ensure democratic rights and opportunities for human progress. It is precisely the socialist States which, in the United Nations and its agencies, have always worked hard to promote the progressive development of the concept of human rights. To quote Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party:

“It is we, it is our movement, it is our countries, it is socialism itself which has brought this idea to the attention of the world and has made it over the years a question of historic importance.”

84. The socialist countries are also those endeavouring to ensure for man conditions propitious to the effective exercise of these rights. They are proud of all they have done from the standpoint of general socio-economic

growth, the development of socialist democracy and the constitutional and material safeguards accorded to the rights and freedoms of the citizen.

85. In performing the above tasks confronting our Organization, we shall have to demonstrate goodwill, and a readiness to negotiate and respect each other's interests.

86. On the basis of the experience acquired over the more than 30 years of the existence of our Organization, we are convinced that the United Nations can and must make an important contribution to the strengthening of peace, to the development of international co-operation and to the acceleration of socio-economic progress. Permit us to stress, at the same time, that it is only by unswerving attachment to the unshakeable principles of the United Nations Charter that we can reach these objectives.

87. The achievements of the United Nations derive from the actions of all its Members. A share in this belongs to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. We have followed with interest his efforts in the service of peace. We expressed this sentiment fully during the Secretary-General's recent visit to Poland.

88. In conclusion, I should like to assure you, Mr. President, that Poland will give its whole-hearted support to the efforts of our Organization in keeping with the purposes and principles of its Charter and will continue to work actively within the context of the guidelines they provide.

89. Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany):⁷ Mr. President, I should like first on behalf of the Federal Government to congratulate you on your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and at the same time I should like to express our pleasure that you, an outstanding political personality and diplomat, representing one of the leading countries of the non-aligned movement, are presiding over this Assembly.

90. On behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany I welcome in our midst the two new Members, the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. This is an important step towards bringing our Organization nearer to the goal of universality.

91. We have assembled here to try and bring the world—a world divided by conflicting ideologies, separated by a gulf between poor and rich nations, torn by various conflicts—further along the long road to our objective: a world of peace, of economic and social progress, a world in which the dignity of man is respected. In fulfilling this task, central importance attaches to the United Nations, the only universal organization.

92. Our age is one of far-reaching change. New thinking and new action are required. Only a generation ago the course of the world was determined by a few big Powers. Since then a hundred new States have emerged and have entered world politics with their own ideas and their own claims. For the first time in history the nations of the world are aware of their dependence on one another worldwide.

⁷ Mr. Genscher spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

93. There is a growing recognition of the fact that through co-operation we must transform our period of transition into an era of joint progress, in order to prevent it from becoming, through confrontation, an era of joint decline. The world is looking for a just order of co-operation. In the past the system between States was often understood as a relationship of supremacy and subordination, politically, militarily and economically. This policy of supremacy no longer has a future. True, the idea of safeguarding one's own interests through power politics is by no means extinct. But it is confronted by the strongest force of this era: the will of nations for self-determination and independence.

94. That will is strong particularly in the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It has led to the dissolution of the huge colonial empires, and it will doom to failure any endeavour to establish new dependencies. This also applies to any attempt to establish supremacy by ideological means through ideological colonialism.

95. Under the conditions prevailing in today's world, a country's interests can be safeguarded on a durable basis only through a policy of co-operation and fair reconciliation of interests. The world order of the future can only be an order based on equality.

96. The Federal Republic of Germany has from the very outset built its foreign policy on respect for the self-determination and equal rights of all nations. We want self-determination for the indivisible German nation. We are helping to build the European Community, a Community in which all members have equal status and equal rights.

97. We are also helping to shape the North Atlantic Alliance, an alliance which is a union of equal member States.

98. With our policy of détente we are seeking co-operation with our Eastern neighbours on the basis of equal rights and mutual benefit.

99. We seek equal and balanced partnership with the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and we fully support them in their claim to independence and the right to develop as they see fit.

100. In a nutshell, we want a world devoid of supremacy. We do not want to establish spheres of influence; we do not want to export ideologies. Rather we want a world in which all nations will determine their own way of life politically, economically and culturally and in which they will co-operate as partners, as equals.

101. The movement of the non-aligned has become a major force in the quest for such a world of independence and equality of nations. Regional groupings as well, based on equality, can also make an essential contribution in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America.

102. Our aim is a world of partnership. This means we must achieve the following goals. First, in order to safeguard peace, we must bring about constructive co-operation between Western and Eastern industrialized countries, beyond all ideological differences. Secondly, we must stop

the arms race, which threatens peace and wastes resources. Thirdly, we must settle the smouldering conflicts in many regions of the world by peaceful means. Fourthly, we must constantly reduce the gap between rich and poor nations. We must overcome hunger and need and misery everywhere in the world. Fifthly, we must make respect for the rights and the dignity of man the foundation of justice and stability in the world.

103. In a world of nuclear weapons, the policy of safeguarding peace determines the destiny of mankind. Safeguarding peace is the common goal of all democratic forces in my country. Safeguarding peace is more than avoiding war. Through the renunciation of force and the peaceful settlement of conflicts we must build a world of partnership. The member countries of the European Community have embarked upon that path. Twice in this century they have been embroiled in war. Today, the Europe of the nine countries has become a force for peace in the world. In the North Atlantic Alliance the democracies of Europe and North America have united to secure peace. The European Community and the North Atlantic Alliance, in turn, provided the firm foundations from which it became possible to launch the process of East-West détente.

104. The Federal Republic of Germany has made a substantial contribution to make détente in Europe possible. By means of the treaties of Moscow, Warsaw and Prague, it has opened the way to normal relations with its Eastern neighbours. Within that context, relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union will also in future be of fundamental importance for détente in Europe. We want to develop these relations further.

105. The treaty with the German Democratic Republic on the basis of relations⁸ has laid a foundation on which the two German States can live together. Part and parcel of that policy pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany is its declared aim to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will recover its unity in free self-determination. We are certain that, here again, history will show that a nation's will for unity will assert itself. Nobody can elude the logic of history by using ideology as a subterfuge.

106. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has carried forward and developed among the 35 participating countries the process of détente that had been initiated bilaterally. The Final Act of Helsinki is a clear rejection of concepts of supremacy. Relations in the whole of Europe are to be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all States.

107. My Polish colleague, the previous speaker, was right in pointing out that the Federal Republic of Germany and the Polish People's Republic have made progress along the road to normalization. The meeting of Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt with the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Mr. Gierek, in Helsinki has given an important impetus to this development.

⁸ Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, done at Berlin on 21 December 1972.

108. At the forthcoming follow-up Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to be held in Belgrade a sober balance-sheet will have to be drawn up as to whether and to what extent the general principles and the specific declarations of intent on economic and humanitarian matters in the Final Act have been put into practice, and what still has to be done.

109. The Federal Government will do its best to ensure that the follow-up Conference will give fresh impetus to détente. The Belgrade Conference must become not the end of the road, but rather a point along the road in the long-term process of détente. There must be no relapse into cold war. That would render further progress impossible and jeopardize what has been achieved so far.

110. Détente in Europe starts from the existing realities. Among those realities are the ties between West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany. We shall do everything to secure the viability of West Berlin. West Berlin must fully participate in the process of détente and its progress. In this context the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971 is of decisive importance. It must be strictly observed and fully implemented. Berlin is both a symbol and a yardstick of the will for détente and co-operation between East and West.

111. We know that ideological differences will continue to exist between East and West. We are ready for a competition of ideas and achievements. However, détente means that neither side should attempt to impose its system on the other.

112. Beyond their ideological rivalry, East and West have a common interest in safeguarding world peace, in developing mutually beneficial co-operation, and in resolving the problems of the developing countries. The latter need the contributions of the Western and the Eastern industrialized countries in order to master their problems. The developing countries need least of all a transfer of the East-West conflict to their regions.

113. President Carter, in his recent speech in Charleston, defined the goal as follows:

“Our goal is not to encourage dissension or to redivide the world into two opposing ideological camps, but to expand the realm of independent, economically self-reliant nations.”

114. A world of partnership can thrive only in a climate of international trust. Such trust presupposes that nations and individuals can live free from fear. They have a right to be secure from the threat or use of force, be it force in the form of political or economic subjugation or be it force of weapons of whatever kind.

115. In 1976 the Western defence alliance demanded that no country build up a higher level of armaments than was required for its defence.

116. The Federal Republic of Germany has from its beginning taken the position that force cannot be a means to settle problems. That is why it actively advocates balanced and controlled disarmament on a world-wide scale. There must be an end to the arms race.

117. We take seriously the task which we assumed when we became a member of the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament of the United Nations. From the beginning, we endorsed the initiative to convene a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on disarmament. Even before the non-proliferation Treaty came into being we had renounced nuclear weapons. We consider the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons to be an essential prerequisite for safeguarding peace. As a party to the non-proliferation Treaty, we appeal once more to all States which are still standing aside to accede to the Treaty.

118. The arms race is an enormous waste of resources in a world which ought to concentrate its efforts on the elimination of hunger and distress. Expenditure on armaments amounting to roughly \$330 billion in 1976 is a challenge to the common sense and moral conviction of all States.

119. The forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on disarmament must clearly show how we can live up to this challenge. It must not bog down in generalities.

120. Besides world-wide endeavours for disarmament, regional efforts are required, especially where the size of the existing military potential makes such action particularly urgent. It is for that reason that the Federal Republic of Germany is actively participating in the Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions. Our aims are clear and straightforward: first, we want parity of forces in Central Europe—neither side should have more forces than the other; and, secondly, we want such parity at a lower level. If those aims were to materialize, this would be a step towards greater stability. It could give fresh and strong impetus to the process of détente.

121. In all efforts for disarmament and arms control—world wide and regional—we are conscious of the importance attaching to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. We welcome the efforts made in those negotiations. The progress achieved in the course of those negotiations will have a favourable effect on détente in general and on other endeavours for disarmament and arms control.

122. Developing a world based on partnership presupposes that we settle conflicts by peaceful means. Three conflicts have been on the General Assembly's agenda for a good number of years—those in the Middle East, Cyprus and southern Africa.

123. In the Middle East, a region neighbouring on and closely linked with the members of the European Community, we were relieved to witness the termination of the civil war in the greater part of Lebanon. But there is no peace yet. We appeal to all who are involved in the constant outbursts of fighting in southern Lebanon to lay down their arms at last. This is essential not only for Lebanon itself but also for stability and peace in the whole region.

124. A settlement of the Middle East conflict is of vital importance also to Europe and the world as a whole. Together with its partners in the European Community the Federal Republic of Germany reaffirmed the principles for

a solution in the statement on the Middle East made by the European Council in London on 29 June 1977. A just and lasting peace settlement must, starting from Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), give effect to the following principles: it must implement the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; it must respect the right of all States in the region—and that means the right of Israel as well—to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; it must end the territorial occupation which Israel has maintained since 1967; it must take into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. In the view of the Federal Republic of Germany, those legitimate rights of the Palestinian people include its rights to self-determination and to give effective expression to its national identity. A solution must therefore take into account the need for a homeland for the Palestinian people.

125. The States members of the European Community have urgently appealed to all parties involved to begin peace negotiations as soon as possible. The Palestinians must participate in those negotiations. The road to negotiations must not be blocked by the unilateral creation of faits accomplis. That is why the Federal Government, in this forum too, comes out against the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories.

126. The Federal Republic of Germany has friendly relations with all States in that region and uses them in its efforts to help to bring about a peaceful settlement. Advantage must be taken of the promising signs which emerged at the beginning of the year. This requires all concerned to show respect for the inalienable rights of the other side. I urgently appeal to all parties to the conflict to be aware of their responsibility for maintaining world peace and to make possible a peace settlement through realism and a spirit of compromise.

127. Stagnation will also have to be overcome at last in the search for a solution of the Cyprus conflict. Any settlement must respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. The aim of giving the independent Republic of Cyprus a bicomunal and federative structure must and can be attained only through direct negotiations between the two ethnic groups. The Federal Republic of Germany supports the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to bring those negotiations to a successful conclusion under his auspices.

128. In recent years African problems have moved more and more into the forefront of international politics. The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is unequivocal. We support the independence of the African States; we support racial equality; we are against colonialism, against any kind of racial discrimination and against any attempt to establish, by pursuing power politics from outside, new dependencies in Africa. Having in mind the continuing suppression of the black majorities in southern Africa, President Nyerere once said:

“Man is so constituted that he will not rest until he feels that he has freedom and the human dignity which goes with it. Otherwise, he will sooner or later fight for his own freedom within his society and for the freedom of his society from outside domination.”

129. The Federal Republic of Germany therefore presses for a peaceful solution of the problems in southern Africa before it is too late—a peaceful change designed to lead all races into a common future of independence and of coexistence based on equality. It is for the community of States which, at the Conferences of Maputo⁹ and Lagos,¹⁰ so impressively demonstrated their determination, to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and racial discrimination in southern Africa. The Federal Republic of Germany shares the objectives of all those who, in liberation movements and elsewhere, champion the cause of self-determination and human rights by peaceful means.

130. As regards Rhodesia, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany supports all international efforts—in particular the Anglo-American initiative—to replace the illegal minority régime and to bring about a speedy and peaceful transfer of power to the black majority.

131. As regards the problem of Namibia, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is actively involved in the initiative of the five Western members of the Security Council designed to prepare the way for Namibia's independence on the basis of Security Council resolution 385 (1976). The citizens of Namibia are to determine their future in general and free elections in which SWAPO is to participate. In this the United Nations has to play an important role. We expect the United Nations to appoint a special representative for the transition of Namibia to independence, and to contribute during the transitional period to the protection of Namibia's internal security and territorial integrity by providing peace-keeping forces. After achieving political independence, Namibia will be faced with the huge task of building up its own economy. In doing so it will need the help of its friends. The Federal Republic of Germany considers this to be an important task.

132. With all the emphasis at its command the Federal Republic of Germany calls for the ending of racial discrimination in the Republic of South Africa. We call for an end to the policy of *apartheid*, and the policy of “bantustanization” and for the establishment of social, economic and political equality for all sections of the population. That includes the safeguarding of the rights of the minorities.

133. The States members of the European Community have drawn up a code of conduct for European firms in South Africa [see A/32/267] designed to give effect to the principle of equal treatment for black and white workers. That is an important step towards the establishment of the economic and social equality of races, wherever we have an opportunity to do so.

134. The Federal Government has reacted with concern to indications that South Africa may plan a nuclear weapons test. We take it that the Government of South Africa will keep to the declarations it has made in the meantime. However, we appeal to it once more to accede to the

⁹ International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977.

¹⁰ World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos from 22 to 26 August 1977.

non-proliferation Treaty in order to dispel any doubt concerning its position.

135. The time for peaceful reform through a constructive dialogue between the races is running out. Further delay, further hesitation, would be bound to result in a racial war which could bring chaos to the whole of southern Africa. We express our sympathy and sorrow for all those who have already become the victims of racial conflict. South Africa can find peace only if it implements human rights for all races.

136. Besides the Middle East, Cyprus, and southern Africa, there are further sources of serious conflict. At present we all think of the fighting and bloodshed in the Horn of Africa. We must make every effort to settle all these other conflicts peacefully, too.

137. A world of peace and partnership is inconceivable if we do not overcome the gap which divides today's world more deeply than any ideological differences—the gap between rich and poor. The challenge for us is to create a new international economic order which will make it possible for all men in all countries to lead a life free from hunger or need. There is also the question of implementing human rights in the social and economic fields.

138. We cannot achieve this new order by discarding existing and proven structures. Such structures must, rather, be steadily developed and in a flexible way adjusted to ever new requirements and conditions. We must preserve the effectiveness of the steering mechanism of the market economy and at the same time ensure for the developing countries both equal participation in world economy and a more than proportionate rate of growth.

139. The search for a new order must be based on the recognition that neither side—neither developing nor industrialized countries—can reach their economic goal alone. The developing countries can step up their own progress only in a climate of world-wide economic growth. Commodity prices of greater stability, rising exports of finished goods from the developing countries, a larger transfer of resources—all this presupposes that the industrialized countries will return to stable growth. In turn, the industrialized countries also need the impetus of accelerated development to regain stable growth.

140. The international economic order must therefore serve the twofold aim of providing more than proportionate growth rates in the developing countries and stable growth in the industrialized countries. It must be an order based on equality and mutual commitment, in which each group of countries assumes responsibility for the realization of both aims in the awareness that only thus will it be able to attain its own goal.

141. What, specifically, needs to be done? First, all countries must stimulate the growth of the world economy by common effort, without refuelling inflation. There must be no backslide into recession. Following an agreed strategy, the Western industrialized countries should exert every effort to promote continuous non-inflationary growth.

142. Let me point out for the Federal Republic of Germany that the considerable increase in our imports during the past few years has given a strong impetus to the international economy. At the same time, we have also exported stability in terms of our relatively high, stable prices. We will make further determined efforts to stimulate economic activity in our own country.

143. Secondly, we must keep the markets of the industrialized countries open and provide them with further finished goods from the developing countries.

144. The exchange of industrial goods is the most dynamic sector of world trade. It has always offered the best chance for an increase in the export earnings of the developing countries, and will continue to do so.

145. Only a steady increase in exports of finished goods from the developing countries will make it possible for us to overcome the traditional pattern of exchange in which commodities are supplied mainly by the developing countries. In other words, that is the only way in which we can create a structure of equal rights and opportunities.

146. A steady change in the structure of world trade is also in the interests of the industrialized countries. Free trade and world-wide structural reform, instead of economic controls and protectionism, are indispensable elements of progress.

147. The Federal Government cautions against the growing trend towards protectionism, which it considers to be a serious danger for international economic co-operation, in particular the co-operation between industrialized and developing countries.

148. In all organizations to which it belongs, the Federal Republic of Germany therefore speaks out explicitly in favour of free world trade and of unimpeded and growing access to markets. We continue to be staunch supporters of free world trade, even though this implies difficult processes of adjustment for some sectors of our own economy.

149. Even during the recession of 1975, we increased our imports of industrial goods from developing countries by 24 per cent and in 1976 by as much as 32 per cent. That trend has continued during the current year.

150. The Federal Republic of Germany ranks first in the world in *per capita* imports of semi-manufacturers and finished goods from the developing countries. It has also accumulated a foreign trade deficit in its dealings with the developing countries which do not export oil and has thus substantially stimulated their economic growth during the past few years.

151. Thirdly, we must attain more stable commodity prices. The heavy price fluctuations typical of many commodities are harmful to both sides, raw material exporters as well as raw material consumers. In many developing countries such fluctuations prevent a systematic implementation of development plans, while at the same time they cause an increase in cyclical fluctuations in the industrialized countries, thereby leading to slower growth.

152. In concert with its partners in the European Community, and in close consultation with the other Western industrialized countries, the Federal Government actively participates in UNCTAD negotiations on the Integrated Programme for Commodities. It advocates the conclusion of commodity agreements where suitable. It also supports the establishment of a common fund as a key instrument in attaining the agreed objectives of the Integrated Programme.

153. Apart from price stabilization, the Federal Government also advocates measures for the stabilization of export earnings. Such measures are of particular importance for the poorest among the developing countries.

154. We must promote the transfer of technology to the developing countries. Technology must be accessible to all countries without discrimination. This applies equally to the peaceful use of atomic energy.

155. The Federal Republic of Germany is trying to co-operate, on the basis of partnership, in strengthening the capacity of the developing countries to absorb technology. It promotes private investment in developing countries as an important vehicle for the transfer of technology. We must step up the transfer of resources to the developing countries.

156. In 1976 the net capital influx from official and private sources into the non-oil-exporting developing countries reached a total of almost \$71 billion, which is double the amount of 1973. This large increase has helped considerably to ease the impact of world recession on the developing countries.

157. During the past few years the Western industrialized countries have reached the target of a total capital transfer of 1 per cent of their national product; the Federal Republic of Germany has exceeded this target with a capital transfer of 1.18 per cent in 1975 and of 1.19 per cent in 1976.

158. It must now be our first priority to increase official assistance. The developing countries and especially the poorest among them are increasingly in need of non-repayable grants and credits on concessional terms. Despite budgetary constraints, the Federal Government has therefore raised by more than 20 per cent its appropriation for development assistance for the 1978 budget. This rate of growth is twice that of the total budget.

159. The Federal Government takes an active part also in the endeavours to solve the problem of indebtedness of the developing countries. This problem affects some of them in particular. We therefore intend to provide, as before, assistance on a case-by-case basis.

160. Overcoming hunger and need in the developing countries is the great task of our times, and it can be fulfilled only if all countries which are in a position to do so contribute their share to this. At the Downing Street Summit Conference, held in London on 7 and 8 May, the seven major industrialized countries of the West therefore called upon the industrialized socialist countries to contribute to the necessary increase in the transfer of resources

to the developing countries. In 1976 development assistance from member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance amounted to less than 25 per cent of the assistance provided by the Federal Republic alone.

161. Access to markets of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance presents a similar picture. Only 4 per cent of the exports from developing countries go to industrialized socialist countries as against close to 75 per cent to member States of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

162. The industrialized socialist countries have long been integrated in world economy. They should therefore accept responsibility for a stable and developing world economy. This is also in their own interest.

163. A substantial contribution to the development process can also be made by foreign private investment in providing capital, technology, modern management methods and channels to world markets. This potential can only be used, however, if industrialized and developing countries jointly commit themselves to creating a climate of mutual confidence which will encourage a smooth and continuous flow of foreign investment.

164. This does not only imply legal security for investors. It also means that the companies established with foreign participation are ready to act in harmony with development plans and to refrain from trying to exert any political influence. In this respect, too, the Federal Republic of Germany is committed to the principle of the sovereignty and independence of all countries.

165. In order to feed a growing world population and to supply an expanding world economy with raw materials, it is imperative that the production of food-stuffs and raw materials should grow at a sufficient and steady pace. The bulk of grain and raw material production is currently concentrated in industrialized countries. On a long-term basis, however, we shall not be able to meet the growing demand unless the developing countries themselves can steadily increase their own production. This is another significant field of co-operation.

166. One of the greatest challenges for us is the energy issue. In the remaining years of this century, the world must manage to switch from oil to new forms of energy. During the transitional period the oil-producing countries bear a special responsibility. The industrialized countries, for their part, must be prepared to exercise the necessary degree of self-discipline without which the task of restricting fuel consumption and of developing alternative sources of energy can never be accomplished.

167. Of key importance for the future of the world economy is the successful conclusion of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The exploitation of the mineral resources of the high seas and the sea-bed has become the critical issue of the negotiations. We must establish an international sea-bed régime and we must do so quickly in view of the long lead-time for investments in deep sea mining. This régime must permit rational exploitation of raw materials and meet the interests of all countries—raw material consumers and raw material pro-

ducers alike. It must not be monopolistic in character and must give all interested States unqualified access to the mineral resources of the high seas.

168. Development policy must focus on man. Its first priority must therefore be to satisfy basic needs of all men. Not only must growth be accelerated; it must also be appropriately structured. It must focus on such areas where the poor live and seek a living.

169. The assumption that somehow growth also reaches the poor has proved false. Poverty must be fought directly, and we must provide the poor with the ability and the means of working productively.

170. I have singled out a few areas in which we must make real and rapid progress in our search for a new international economic order based on joint responsibility. The Federal Government will strive with all its vigour to achieve such progress.

171. We hope that our efforts will gain additional momentum from the recently established Independent Commission on International Development Issues. We are pleased that a personality of such international renown and broad political experience as Willy Brandt has agreed to head the Commission.

172. A world of partnership must also be a world of respect for human rights and their implementation. In our endeavours to make the world a more human place we must put a halt with all our vigour to the ever multiplying forms of violence. The taking of hostages has become an urgent problem for all mankind.

173. During the last session of the General Assembly the Federal Government therefore proposed an international convention against the taking of hostages.¹¹ Early deliberations in the Committee which has been requested to prepare the text of a draft convention have confirmed the will for objective co-operation in accomplishing this task.

174. We must continue the work we have begun with all our vigour. I request the General Assembly to extend the Committee's mandate in accordance with its recommendations [see A/32/39, para. 14]. We must also make progress in the solution of the complex problem of terrorism. Terrorism in its national and international forms has become a grave danger for all who want to live in peace and freedom. We must jointly fight this danger.

175. During the past year the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights have entered into force. These Covenants are inseparably linked. Freedom from want is no less significant a human right than freedom from fear.

176. It is now a question of applying human rights world-wide. Here again the United Nations must continue to act as a champion. World-wide independent bodies are required. I reaffirm what I said last year concerning the tasks of an international court for human rights.¹²

177. Let us always remember that the concept of human rights is the irresistible force of the modern world to which the future belongs. The implementation of human rights alone will be the yardstick by which progress in the world is measured.

178. Mr. KHADDAM (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, may I first of all warmly congratulate you on your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. The universal confidence placed in you by delegations of the entire world is clear evidence of the high esteem that the world community has for your people and country, which was one of the pioneers of the non-aligned movement. Your great experience in international affairs, as well as your wisdom and knowledge, give promise that you will contribute considerably to the success of the work of this session.

179. I should also wish to praise the constructive role played by Mr. Amerasinghe, the outgoing President, who conducted the work of the previous session with flexibility and insight and in a manner that confirmed the excellent traits of character for which he is renowned.

180. A few days ago, our Assembly enthusiastically received two new Members. They are the Republic of Djibouti, which won its independence recently following a bitter struggle for freedom and self-determination, and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose people fought for over 30 years to achieve independence and the unity of their homeland and made enormous sacrifices in their struggle against the fiercest colonialist and imperialist forces. We hail Arab Djibouti and friendly Viet Nam, whose admission to membership in the United Nations will undoubtedly contribute to the enhancement of the role of the international community and the consolidation of its universality.

181. By placing our issues and attitudes before the General Assembly, we are affirming our belief that the world Organization must be the effective instrument to strengthen international peace and security and to establish equal and equitable relations among nations. Despite the achievements already realized by this Organization in all domains, we find it imperative to express our deep concern over the non-implementation of many resolutions adopted by the various United Nations organs, and over the persistent violations of the principles of the Charter and the abuse of some of the privileges defined in it. We have all witnessed the unfair use of the veto in the Security Council in certain cases. The nations of the world do not wish problems to be merely pinpointed. Rather do they demand that we seek solutions, which they want to see carried out. This can be done only through showing due respect for the United Nations Charter and for the will of the world community.

182. The one-year interval between the present session and the previous one revealed some major changes in, and facts about, the world of today. Some steps were taken to eliminate tension and to strengthen the concept of international détente. In contrast, peace and stability are still remote and beyond the reach of some peoples and regions. Attempts continue to be made to impose new forms of

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 7th meeting, para. 113.

¹² *Ibid.*, paras. 117-120.

subservience on those peoples. Such attempts occur from time to time, in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

183. A major and most essential global issue faced by our Organization today is the economic relations prevailing in the contemporary world. The problem is represented by the sharp contrast between the will of the international community, which has defined the bases of the new economic order, and the attempts made by certain forces to obstruct the solution of problems that are worsening every day. The current crisis of the world economic order is being aggravated with the passing of time, and the developing nations have become victims of this chronic disease.

184. This situation, which has never been witnessed before by the world, is a natural outcome of the crisis dominating current economic relations. It is a crisis that was engendered in the old colonialism era and kept active and growing in the era of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

185. All this prompts us to stress the need to change the present economic order. It is here that the role of our international Organization should be conspicuous, and in particular that of the General Assembly, which must contribute seriously and effectively to the removal of the obstacles and difficulties that are blocking the way to the establishment of a new order, towards the application of whose principles no progress whatsoever has been made.

186. The maintenance of international peace and security, the easing of tensions and the safeguarding of the world from the holocaust of war and from various forms of armed conflicts are all directly linked to finding the solution of a number of issues and problems which the United Nations has for so many years been tackling at each of its regular sessions.

187. The decolonization process which has taken successful steps within the framework of the United Nations at times stumbles in certain areas because of the obstinacy and manoeuvres of some colonialist Powers. Racism in all its manifestations persists in its oppression and its defiance of the world to the extent that it is extending the limits of its aggressions to the neighbouring independent nations. The racist régimes in Africa could not survive and persist in their oppression and aggression were it not for the political, military and economic support they are receiving from some Western countries, and were it not for the identity of fate that links those régimes with the Zionist racist entity in occupied Palestine. We are certain that victory will be achieved by those peoples still labouring under the yoke of racism, and that the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia will be liberated.

188. The situation in Korea remains a cause of dangerous tension. This prompts us to stress again the need to have all foreign troops withdrawn from Korea, to have the military Armistice Agreement replaced by a peace agreement and to start a dialogue between the two parts of Korea with a view to peaceful reunification of the country.

189. The Cyprus issue is still fraught with tension and a possible heightening of such tension—especially following the demise of President Makarios. Hence, it has become necessary to expedite the search for a solution based on

negotiations between the two communities on the island under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General, on the principles of resolution 3212 (XXIX) adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session, and with due respect for the sovereignty of Cyprus, its independence, territorial integrity and unity, as well as its non-alignment.

190. The actions taken by the United Nations in the field of disarmament and the progress realized so far have been meagre and unsatisfactory. We appreciate the significance of the role which the United Nations could play in this domain, since international peace and security cannot be maintained without total and comprehensive disarmament. This can be achieved only when all peoples and nations are able to enjoy security based on justice and to sense respect for their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and their right to choose the system they wish to adopt, and only if all forms of aggression, exploitation, colonialism and racism are eliminated.

191. We attach great importance to the guaranteeing of freedom and the basic rights of man which represent a substantial factor for liberation and the elimination of subservience, exploitation and foreign domination. In this connexion, it is imperative to stress that human rights cannot be enforced under conditions allowing the exercise of force, oppression and suppression, the persistence of all forms of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination, and where human beings are deprived of their country, their land and their homes. Such conditions are clearly seen in the sufferings of the Africans living under racist régimes in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. They are also clearly shown in the sufferings of the Palestinians living under Zionist racism in occupied Palestine or in exile outside Palestine.

192. The explosive situation in the Middle East is certainly foremost among the issues that engage the attention of the international community, which is striving to seek a solution to that situation because of the sure relationship between peace and security in the region and peace and security in the world at large.

193. The existing situation is the result of Israel's intransigence and continuing aggression against the rights of the people of Palestine and against the occupied Arab territories. Israel is thereby violating the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. The recent Israeli measures aimed at applying Israeli laws to the Arab inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and at establishing new settlements in the occupied Palestinian and Arab lands as a prelude to their annexation to Israel, are aggravating the situation.

194. The impact of an explosion of the situation in the Middle East might not be limited to the countries of that region; rather, it would imperil the whole world. We all remember that the 1973 October war brought the world to the verge of nuclear war because of conflicting international interests in the Middle East region. That region has 70 per cent of the world's oil reserves, and through it pass the routes of international communications between east and west. Hence, all talk about peace in the world is incomplete if peace is not achieved in the Middle East.

195. We, the Arabs, realize this fact. We are part of the world. The attainment of world peace concerns us as much as it concerns the other nations of the world. Through peace we can ensure the prosperity and welfare of our peoples. We have repeatedly and on all occasions declared our sincere desire for peace. However, Israel has always reacted by further intransigence. Every step we took towards peace was met by Israeli steps escalating actions conducive to the obstruction of peace.

196. Ever since its creation, Israel has been pursuing a constant policy based on expansion and the acquisition of more Arab territories. It is persisting in implementing this policy, heedless of the wishes of the international community and disregarding the lessons of the 1973 October war. The statements made by Menachem Begin since the first day after the Likud won the elections prove the validity of my assertion. It would take me some time to list all those statements. However, I shall refer to a few of them in order to give you an idea of the course the Israeli leaders are pursuing.

197. On 17 May 1977 Menachem Begin declared that the West Bank was an integral part of what he termed Israel's "historical homeland".

198. On 18 May 1977 Begin declared that the new Israeli Government would call upon Israeli youth to settle in the occupied territories since they were part of the "land of Israel". He added that there was no need to annex the West Bank because "no one would annex what is his". He also stated that his Government would not call the West Bank "an occupied territory" but, rather, "a liberated territory", and that Israel would not withdraw from the West Bank since it was "an integral part of Israel". He added that the Arab leaders must become aware of that fact.

199. On 23 May 1977, in a declaration published by the French weekly *L'Express*, Begin, in reply to a question as to whether his Government intended to annex the West Bank to Israel, said that only foreign territories were usually annexed, while the West Bank was "a liberated territory".

200. On 7 September 1977, Begin declared that "every Jew has the right to settle in the land of Israel" and that the West Bank fell within the "historical boundaries of the land of Israel". He has also made other similar declarations and statements which you must have read when they were made.

201. Nevertheless, I find it imperative at this point to refer to the statement made on 9 September 1977 by General Ariel Sharon, Israel's Minister of Agriculture, when he disclosed that Israel had secretly established 10 settlements during last August. Sharon said: "The United States must understand that the settlement of Jews in Arab territories is more important than peace".

202. That statement alone is, I believe, sufficient to shed light on Israel's expansionist intentions and on the extent of its adherence to peace. I must also refer to the plan announced by General Sharon to double Israel's population so as to bring it up to 6 million. I would like to ask, How can Israel, within its small area, assimilate that many

people, and how could such a plan be carried out other than through plans aimed at the occupation of more Arab territories?

203. Begin has implemented his ideas about the "historical homeland". He has taken a series of measures aimed at annexing the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to Israel by applying Israeli laws to the population of those areas. The timing chosen by Israel to announce those measures is significant, as they were announced only a few days after the last visit of the United States Secretary of State to the countries of the region. Israel's intention is explicit and clear: to undermine the efforts exerted by the United States Secretary of State to reconvene the Geneva Peace Conference.

204. Israel was established on aggression and it cannot survive without aggression. Peace is indeed incompatible with its aggressive and expansionist plans aimed at annexing Arab lands and expanding at the expense of the Arabs. Therefore, it has always resorted to placing obstacles in the way of peace and worked to undermine efforts at achieving peace. It is within this context that we can interpret Israel's attitudes and policies from its inception to the present time.

205. Just one glance at Israel's proposals for peace in the Middle East confirms what I have just said. Those proposals are, in fact, no more than attempts to undermine the efforts which are being exerted to solve the conflict in the Middle East. Moreover, they are attempts to perpetuate the present situation and to confront the world with a fait accompli, which is in line with Israel's traditional policy. Those proposals do not have the remotest chance of achieving peace, for the following reasons.

206. First, those proposals ignore the fact that the Palestine issue is the origin of the Middle East conflict, and disregard the rights of the Palestinian people. They misrepresent the situation as an issue of refugees who can settle in the neighbouring Arab countries, and ignore the fact that the problem is one of a people that was expelled from its land and homeland, to which it wishes to return to determine its own fate there. This right to self-determination has been recognized by the United Nations.

207. Secondly, Israel refuses to withdraw to the borders of 4 June 1967, and affirms its intention of retaining part of those territories—foremost among which are Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip—thereby violating the United Nations Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

208. Thirdly, Israel is laying down pre-conditions for convening any peace conference. It refuses to allow the participation in such a conference of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is regarded by the world community as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine. Israel also denies that people the right to establish its State in Palestine, as is stipulated in General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX).

209. This having been said, allow me to put this question to you. If Israel insists on retaining the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Jerusalem, if it refuses to withdraw from all the

territories belonging to Syria and Egypt which were occupied in 1967 and if it also refuses to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, how do the Israelis conceive of the possibility of the establishment of peace in such conditions?

210. On numerous occasions we have declared our genuine and sincere desire to attain peace in this region of the world. It is this desire that prompts us to welcome any effort exerted to establish peace in our region. We have declared that the peace we desire and strive for is the peace that would lead, first, to Israel's total withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, and secondly to securing the national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish their own independent State, their right to self-determination and their right to return, in conformity with the relevant United Nations resolutions, to their lands from which they have been excluded since 1948. The acceptance of these two conditions is the key to a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

211. Israel would be very much mistaken were it to believe that it could impose its will on the Arabs and perpetuate the present situation, or if it believed for a single second that the Arabs would cede one inch of their territories or any of their rights. The hysterical military threats recently reiterated by the Israeli military leaders will not frighten or alarm us. History has taught us that the party that makes threats is not always the winner. The history of nazism is not so remote as to be forgotten; nor is the October war. Throughout history our people have made enormous sacrifices and have endured many sufferings to defend their rights. Today they stand ready to make more sacrifices for their land, their rights, their freedom and their dignity.

212. Never in the history of this international Organization has a Member State flouted the United Nations as Israel has done. Israel has violated the Charter, disregarded United Nations resolutions and defied the will of the international community. I need not list all such violations now since they have become a daily occurrence and members are quite familiar with them.

213. We all know that Israel was admitted to the United Nations under resolution 273 (III). Moreover, we all know that Israel's admission under the said resolution was conditional upon the fulfilment of the following two conditions: first, that it undertake to comply fully with the United Nations Charter from the first day of its admission to membership; and secondly, that it carry out the provisions of resolution 181 (II), on partition, and of resolution 194 (III) by permitting the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes. The then Foreign Minister of Israel undertook at the time to accept the two conditions. Needless to say the undertaking was dishonest. Israel has not honoured either of the two conditions. Resolution 194 (III) remains a dead letter and the same applies to resolution 181 (II), since Israel has occupied territories four times as large as the territories allotted to it under the partition resolution.

214. Israel is practising a policy contrary to the aims of the United Nations Charter, the rules of international law,

the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, human rights and basic human freedoms. Accordingly Israel is not worthy to be a Member of the United Nations. We call upon the international community to apply against Israel those sanctions provided for in the Charter, and to reconsider resolution 273 (III) under which Israel was admitted to United Nations membership.

215. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights has repeatedly condemned Israel for violating the fourth Geneva Convention in the occupied Arab territories. The Commission considered those violations to be war crimes and an affront to mankind.

216. It is regrettable and unfortunate to see certain big Powers, instead of dealing with Israel on the above basis, extending to it all sorts of military and economic aid and assistance and supplying it with the most up-to-date lethal weapons, as if Israel were the victim of aggression, as if it had not perpetrated a brutal aggression against an entire people by expelling them from their homes and lands, and as if it were not occupying territories of three States Members of the United Nations. Such military and economic assistance increases Israel's greed and ravenous appetite for expansion and aggression, as well as heightening its intransigence and its defiance of United Nations resolutions. Had those Powers sided with right and justice and had they stood firmly against Israeli intransigence and arrogance, Israel would not have dared to pursue a policy which is in direct contravention of the United Nations Charter and resolutions.

217. We appeal to all States to cease extending any economic or military aid to Israel and to refrain from giving it any form of help, since such help would inevitably lead to perpetuating the present situation and would encourage Israel to continue its aggressive action against the rights of the people of Palestine and against the occupied Arab territories.

218. Given the responsibilities entrusted by the United Nations Charter to the Security Council regarding the maintenance of world peace, and in view of the fact that Israeli practices and policies constitute a grave danger to that peace and threaten the gravest consequences, we request the Security Council to put an end to such practices and to take the necessary steps to cancel all Israeli measures imposed in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, notably those relating to annexation, colonization and Judaization.

219. I have outlined the situation in the Middle East with all its gravity and dangers. Peace in our region depends upon your sincere desire to enforce the provisions of the United Nations Charter as well as on the help you give us and the support you lend to our just struggle. We look forward to your help and backing since thereby you would strengthen the United Nations and its power and consolidate world peace, which is our common objective.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.